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More Khotanese Colours

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R. E. EMMERICK's activity in tracing Khotanese ghostwords is too well known to be recalled here, as is his masterly knowledge of the Khotanese language itself. As a small token of gratitude from the Iranian scholars at "L'Orientale" University of Naples, where Khotanese studies are represented at so high a level thanks to him, I am glad to offer the following remarks on a Khotanese word which was the object of EMMERICK's attention some time ago.¹

R. E. EMMERICK dedicates a page and a half of his *Studies*² to the chromatic adjective *gvā(m)-ysrñm*, treated in an entry of the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* whose lexicological section reads as follows:

gvā- 'yellow, green', as first component, Sid. 107v1 *gvā-ysrñm āchai* 'yellow disease' [...]. Sid. 107v2 *cha gvā-ysrñma hame u šī āsana, dilakā ysīca* 'skin become green and white-blue, a little yellow' [...]. Sid. 107v4 *gvā-ysrñm āchai halīmākā* 'the green disease halīmākā' [...].³

For the semantics, besides contexts and correspondences (Tibetan *lyan-gu*, *lyan-gukha*, Sanskrit *barita*-, *pāṇdu*-) BAILEY goes by on the attribution of the word to an etymological family: "*gau*:- *gu*- 'yellow, green'".⁴ This appears as an *ad hoc*⁵ construction to explain: (1) Khot. *gvā-ysrñm*; (2) the Av. name of the *gaokarṇa*-tree, connected with the *bōm i spēd*;⁶ (3) the name of sulphur, MMP <gwyrd>, Phl. <gwklt>, NP *gugerd* (also Sogd. <ywky> and some NWIr.⁷);

- 1 This article contains preliminary results from research by me carried out at the "L'Orientale" University, Naples, and funded by the Ministry of Education (COFIN 1997, 2000, 2002), now embodied in the *Balochi Etymological Dictionary Archive*. Thanks are due to M. Maggi and G. OROFINO for advice and assistance in different phases of the work.
- 2 EMMERICK 1987.
- 3 BAILEY 1979, p. 96.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 EMMERICK 1992, p. 11: "Caution must be exercised [...] when using the *Dict.* in connection with hitherto untranslated texts as the excerpts quoted in the *Dict.* pay little regard to the context and often present a meaning based entirely on etymological speculation".
- 6 On this cf. EILERS 1974, p. 322, who envisages a reference to sulphur. BAILEY 1974, p. 371 (also BAILEY 1979, p. 54, s.v. *karāšša*-) interprets *gaō*- as a colour-word and *-karṇa* as the name of the 'branch' (IE **kel*-).
- 7 Reconstructed as **gaukryta*- by HENNING 1940 (cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, p. 9, §76, p. 21 §148; GИЯРГВ 1995, p. 174, no. 4370, etc.; cf. also EILERS 1974, p. 322); cf. LAUFER 1919,

(4) NP *yik* ‘frog’ (‘if called the ‘greenish animal’⁹); and, through an asserted ‘adjective suffix-*-ra-*’ formation,⁹ (5) the name of the wild ass (cf. NP *gur*, Psh. *γyara*¹⁰ etc.) and (6) the Ilr. cognates of OIA *gaura*- ‘reddish, yellowish, whitish’; Bal. *gorag* ‘grey, white’.¹¹

Even if BAILEY’s reconstruction could be accepted from the semantic point of view, one would be confronted with such unaccountable thematic formations as NP *yik*¹² and the alleged *-ra-*formation from a hypothetical ‘chromatic root’. Not being in a position to discuss the matter in greater detail here, I would accept MAYKHOFER’s latest standing,¹³ and maintain the link of the name of the wild ass (NP *gur* etc.) with OIA *gaura*- ‘reddish, yellowish, whitish’; this colour-word is widely represented in late forms of IA¹⁴ with prevailing semantics ‘white, of fair complexion’, matching well with modern Ir. as documented through Zaza *gaurik* ‘weiß’;¹⁵ Kurmanji Kurd. *gewr* ‘light grey, whitish’;¹⁶ Bal. *gorag* ‘white, of complexion’.¹⁷ One should of course keep away from these **gaura*-derivatives Khot. *gvā-*¹⁸ and (2) – (4) above, on which nothing certain can be stated at the moment.

p. 575, no. 15, and lastly CAVOLOV 2001, p. 554. Modern Ir. materials corroborate a route through Turkish for NWIr., but the whole etym. history remains unclear (“von unsicherer Herkunft” acc. to БАРТОЛОМЭЕ 1925, p. 58, no. 18, where “volksetymologische Umgestaltung” is suggested). Note that Bal. has both “*gokburā*” and “*gokbirt*” (MAYER 1910, p. 24): the changing vocalisms of the second syllable of this word in modern Iranian languages make it impossible to reason in terms of “exceptions to Hübschmann’s rule” as KORN 2003, p. 66, does.

8 BAILEY 1979, p. 96 (also BAILEY 1974, p. 371); there is no recent treatment of the word (cf. HENNING 1937–1939, p. 95).

9 BAILEY 1979, p. 96; cf. also BAILEY 1974, p. 371.

10 On this cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003, p. 34, where a palatalization < **ywari* < **gauri* is hypothesised.

11 BAILEY 1979, p. 96; cf. also BAILEY 1974, p. 371; on ‘grey’ see below. MAYKHOFER 1992, p. 503, quotes in his entry “*gaurā*- Adj. weißlich, gelblich, rötlich (RV +)” Khot. *gvā-* ‘yellow, green’ (from BAILEY 1979, p. 96) to support the Ilr. antiquity of Vedic *gaurā*- ‘weißlich, gelblich, rötlich’; Bal. *gorag* ‘grau, weiß’ (written *gōrag*) by MAYKHOFER and MP *gōr*, NP *gur* etc. ‘Wildesel’, and adds in the final comment in small type: “Zu *gāw*-? Nicht sicher, vgl. Abtaustufe (AiGr III 219, mit Lit.) und Semantik (g° Bos gaurus primar? AiGr II, 2, 852); anders Bal[ley], a.a.O., der von einer „Farbwurzel“ **gaw-* ausgeht.”

12 Cf. also SZEMERÉNYI 1980, p. 44.

13 MAYKHOFER 1992, p. 503; differently MAYKHOFER 1956, p. 350.

14 Cf. TURNER 1966, p. 233, no. 4345; 1985, p. 30, no. 4345.

15 HADANK 1932, p. 286.

16 RIZGAR 1993, p. 84.

17 Bal. *gorag* means ‘white, fair’ (as in nos 2–3 in the relevant entry of ELFENBEIN 1990, p. 53). I do not know of any occurrence of Bal. *gorag* ‘grey’, which I suspect to have reached MAYKHOFER 1992 through DAMES 1891, iv, p. 88 (“Goragh, grey”); МАУЕР 1910, p. 85, s.v. ‘grey’ states correctly that *gorag* only means ‘whiteman’. ‘grey’ reappears in ELFENBEIN 1990, p. 53.

18 CAVOLOV 2001, p. 374, s.v. *ḡawr* accepts BAILEY’s derivation of Bal. *gōrag*, NP *gur* and Khot. *gvā-* from **gaw-* : *gu-*.

Commenting on the entry in question, RONALD EMMERICK annotated:

Since *gvā(m)* is apparently superfluous BAILEY has suggested that it means the same as *ysirīnm* and explains it as belonging ‘to base *gau-* : *gu-* “yellow, green”’. However, there is no other evidence that *gvā(m)* means ‘yellow, green’.¹⁹

EMMERICK’s explanation runs as follows:

gvā(m) may be a reduced form of *gvāna*- like *jū(m)* ‘time’ from *jūna*- [...] *gvāna*- itself may represent OKh. *ggyāna*- ‘colour’, cf. *abvānta*- for *abhānta*- [...] *gvā(m)*- *ysirīnm* would then correspond precisely to Tibetan *ḡan-gu kha* ‘green-coloured’ since *kha* stands for *kha-dog* ‘colour’.²⁰

At this point, EMMERICK enumerates three possible objections. Out of the three, the phonetic argument seems to be that which mostly worries him, since the relevant paragraph contains the longest treatment; but I find his explanation fully convincing: an occlusive in a Cā-syllable can develop a labial glide *Cvā-* also in OKhot.²¹ So I shall not come back to this point.

The second ‘difficulty’ is introduced in the following way:

ysirīna itself is thought to contain *gyāna*- ‘colour’.

I am not really certain that I understand EMMERICK’s rejoinder to his own objection:

that *ysarīna*- was not felt by the speakers of Khotanese to contain *gyāna*- ‘colour’ is indicated by the fact that Late Khotanese has a compound *ysara-gyāna*- ‘yellow-coloured’.

At this point I would like to introduce a theoretical distinction, viz. that one should not confuse the descriptive level with the etymological one. From the synchronic point of view *ysarīna*- is a Khot. colour-word corresponding to a different taxon of the colour continuum from that indicated by *ysara-gyāna*-; as far as the morphology is concerned, one should analyse *ysarīna* and *ysara-gyāna*- as results of two separate composition processes (and/or external linguistic influences) dating back to different phases.

If we want to trace the historical development of Khot. *ysarīna*-, we have to refer to Av. *zairi.gaona*- ‘gelb-, goldfarbig’ (ВАРТОЛОМЭЕ, said of *haoma*-, cf. *Yasna* 9.16; 10.122); but, a few lines below, also ‘grünlich, gelbgrün’²² (of *haoma* as *urvāna zairi.gaona*-²⁴).

19 EMMERICK 1987.

20 EMMERICK 1987, p. 39.

21 Details in EMMERICK 1981, p. 206; 1987, p. 39. Similar (LKhot.) phonetic environments are mentioned in EMMERICK 1982, p. 16; SKJÆRVØ 1982, p. 130.

22 JOSEPHSON 1997, pp. 57, 93, maintains ВАРТОЛОМЭЕ’s ‘golden(-colored)’.

23 Cf. ВАРТОЛОМЭЕ 1904, cols. 1680–1681.

24 Cf. e.g. *Yt.* 7.4; reference to green is suggested by ФЛАТТЕРВУ/СЕНХАРТЗ 1989, p. 120 (“The picture of a chlorophyll-producing plant is further borne out by Avestan *zairi.gaona*-,

The following Mlr. cognates are known:

1) Sogdian:

- a) *zrywn* 'plant, vegetable'²⁵
- b) *zrywn'k* 'green'²⁶
- c) *zrywnč* 'green';²⁷

2) Khwarazmian:

- *zrywnyk* (also °*zrywnk* in compounds) 'Grün, Gras';²⁸

3) Middle Persian:

- Phl. *zargōn* 'green', even if MACKENZIE (1971, p. 98) places 'golden' before 'green, fresh' among his semantic equivalents (but *zargōn* translates *zairi.gaona-* in *Yāst* 7.4 etc.; Phl. *zargōnib* means 'greenness' everywhere [MACKENZIE, *ibid.*]);²⁹
- MNP *hwzrgwn* (/huzargōn/)³⁰ is translated 'green, golden yellow' by DURKIN-MEISTERERST 2004, p. 195: but while 'green' is justified by M97 V ii 10, (plur.) M11 V 5, 'golden yellow'³¹ seems exclusively³² due to M309a R 4 *bysr hwzrgwn* ('goldfarbige Krone' MÜLLER 1904, p. 47, but different interpretations are possible);

4) Manichaean Parthian:

- *hwzrgwn* (/huzargōn/) 'green', DURKIN-MEISTERERST 2004, p. 195, and BOYCE 1977, p. 49;
- *zrgwng* (/zargōnag/) 'golden, green' DURKIN-MEISTERERST 2004, p. 384,³³ where three occurrences are quoted: H.1/22a/M93 I R 1 (*pwsg*

to which correspond Aramaic *zargōn* 'vine', Middle Persian and Parthian *zargōn*, Sogdian *zargōn* 'greenish, vegetable'³⁴). A different explanation (with reference to the multichromatism of honey) is in LEHMANN 2000, pp. 301–302.

25 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11400.

26 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11401.

27 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11402.

28 Cf. BENZING 1983, p. 717, with a reference to EMMERICK (1970, p. 68) where Sogd. *zrywn* 'grass' is listed among the many Khor. words "identical, even in spelling, with Sogdian counterparts"; EMMERICK comments: "Some borrowing must of course be expected". Cf. in *Banddāšān*, ZAEHNER 1955, p. 476, s.v. *zaryōn* (but ZAEHNER's /tr/ is phonemically impossible); also NYBERG 1931, pp. 253–254, s.v. *zar-yōnib* where a direct derivation from Av. *zairi.gaona-* is envisaged; on *zargōnib* cf. also ZAEHNER 1955, p. 311.

29 Presence or absence of *hw*^o has not been commented upon, barring the implicit explanation in ANDREAS/HENNING (schön)grün' (1934, p. 90); in my view there should be an underlying contrast as assumed by DEGENER 1987, p. 55 (§4.2.3), for the Khor. chromatic adjectives such as *hu-sītyā* 'sehr weiß'.

30 BOYCE 1977, p. 49, *sub* 'hwzrgwn' offers only 'green'.

31 The context of RH (1078) M181 V 5, made available to DURKIN-MEISTERERST by CHR. RECK before the appearance of RECK 2004, p. 171, confirms 'green'; RH (1082) M181 V 9 (*ibid.*) is fragmentary (I am indebted to WERNER SUNDERMANN for his personal communication on these passages).

32 In BOYCE 1977 the entry is missing.

zrgwng 'verdant garlands'), M171 1 V 10 ('[*hwrs*] ... *ky bmyw zrgwng* 'juniper ... ever green'), H. V /5b/ M6220 V 8. The last, which I suspect to be the only ground for 'golden' in DURKIN-MEISTERERST, refers to the wording *sršk zrgwng* translated by BOYCE (under the influence of HENNING) "No golden drop (of water) is ever (found)";³⁴ but this is a forced interpretation deriving from a literary connexion with gold: a translation reckoning with both the desolated panorama described in the foregoing lines and the Phl. gloss *zargōnēn kē tarr* (see below) would fit the context better;³⁵

5) Khotanese:

- *ysarūna-* 'green' (not 'yellow, red',³⁶ as stated bizarrely in the *Diction-ary*, where the meaning 'green' is the only possible one³⁷); some doubts could concern KT III 41.29 *ysarūn gūñānai man* 'red (or yellow) grape wine'³⁸, but it is easy to recall the notations of ὄλωδὸν αἶμα by Sophocles (*Tr.* 1055) and Euripides (*Hec.* 27) or the locations ἐνὶ θύοντι πόντῳ in *Iliad* (23.316 etc.) and *Odyssey* (5.132 etc.), just to show how one has to be prudent when interpreting the 'colours of wine' and the vitality attributed to liquids: they can be represented by the most diverse colour-words, easily misinterpreted if one fails to reconstruct the underlying metaphorical mappings.

The relationship between the Av. text and its Phl. versions merits a separate discourse. The additional notes to BARTOLOMAE's entry *zairi.gaona-* contain a bulk of information: (1) the Av. adjective must be put into connexion with NP *zaryūn/zaryūn*; (2) its Phl. renderings are (BARTOLOMAE's transcription) "*zart gōn*, *zartēn gōn*"; (3) the gloss appended by the ancient commentators to *Vd.* 2.26 is *zargōnēn kē tarr* i.e. '*zargōnēn* means *tarr* [= 'moist, fresh']'; (4) the NP rendering is *szbz rang* 'of green colour'. BARTOLOMAE had probably realised that the Zoroastrians associated the meaning of 'verdant' with one of the most typical adjectives of the *haoma*, but paying homage to the Ilr. tradition

34 BOYCE 1954, p. 87, fn. 2: "Probably a reference to the best kind of Persian water, the *water called golden*, which no one was allowed to drink, on pain of death, except the Persian king", followed by an (H.).

35 Cf. KLIMKEIT 1989, p. 146: "ein frischer Tropfen".

36 This is perhaps an echo from BAILEY 1974, pp. 370–371, where the following statement on *zar-* is printed: "The evidence is that in Iranian this range was from red through red-dish, orange-red, to yellow and green."

37 Cf. BAILEY 1979, p. 347; repeated in DEGENER 1989, p. 171 (and translated 'grün, goldig'). BAILEY 1979, p. 87; also BAILEY 1974, p. 371, 1979, pp. 340, 347. The persistence of the meaning 'wine' in Arabic *zargūn* and Aramaic *zrgwng* (MASHKOUR 1978, p. 327, s.v. *zargūn*) could be of some interest. On the words for 'wine' cf. also ELLERS 1975, p. 590, fn. 19: "[arab.] *az-zargā* (Fem. von *azraq* 'blau') 'der sc. rote Wein'; but here I do not agree with ELLERS' idea that the analogy derives from the "schillern" of colours.

38 ZAEHNER 1955, p. 311, *ad* l. 238. NP *tarr* (= *tarr-o tāzē*) still means 'green' (= 'not dried').

(according to which the *soma/haoma* is *hari*-coloured⁴⁰) he maintained a reference to the 'yellow', to his eyes justified because of the 'etymological cogency' of Psh. **zhar*-. An indication of further trouble could be seen in the entry ۱۶۵۵ *zariŋ-giŋ* in KARADIA'S *Glossary*: there the author, not understanding why the verdant banks (*Vd.* 2.26; 2.34) and the luxuriant plants (*Vd.* 18.63) should be connoted with the colour of gold (*zarren gōn*), comments "lit. of golden colour, i.e. fresh, refreshing, delicious".⁴¹ As to "*zart gōn*" (which I have not found anywhere), it may be a real variant or represent a confusion by ВАКНОЛОМАЕ with similar compounds (such as Av. *zairi.dōiθrō*⁴²).

At this point a chain of historical developments seems firmly established. We have a clear meaning 'green, verdant' proceeding from Av. *zairi.gaona*- to (archaic, *Borhān* etc.⁴³) NP *zariyūn* 'sبز-о хортан rā guyand' and to Psh. *zariyūn* 'green, verdant' (MORGENSTIERNE 2003).

Here we are not confronted with different bahuvrīhis originated by some descendant of OIr. **zar*- 'yellow' + OIr. **gaima*-, but with a common inheritance, OIr. **zairigaima*- 'verdant, fresh, green'. From this point of view, the attribution of a productive morpheme **-gaima*- to dead Ir. languages⁴⁴ is as inexact as the attribution of its descendants to Nlir. languages;⁴⁵ at the Av. stage (when both the autonomous usage of *gaona*- 'colour' and its presence in bahuvrīhis

containing the same semantic feature⁴⁶ are attested) the adjective **zairigaima*- was probably no longer analysable.⁴⁷

A series of factors would soon have exerted an influence on this lexical chain⁴⁸: (1) phonetic proximity to **gaima*-adjectives denoting 'golden' colours⁴⁹ (such as Sogd. *zyrūwēn*, *zyrūwēnē* 'gold-coloured';⁵⁰ Khot. *ysata-gīna*- (passim), *ysīra-gū*- (парах КТ 11 60.21) 'gold-coloured';⁵¹ NP *zargim* (also *zargim*) 'dore';⁵² possibly Psh. *žarūmny* 'želtovatyj'⁵³); (2) prominent position in the Zoroastrian vocabulary of this epithet of *haoma*, soon reinterpreted after the preciousness of gold; (3) disappearance of descendants of OIr. **-gaima*- from the productive morphemes of the modern Ir. languages.

The ۱۶۵۱ lemma in the *Borhān-e Qāte* displays a lexicographical convergence, but also proves the extinct productivity of **gūm*: "*sabz-o xortan rā gūyand va be mā'ni-e zardrang ham āmade ast ē gūm be mā'ni-e rang va lowm bašad*",⁵⁴ after the *Borhān* the meaning 'golden, yellow' appears to prevail in NP.⁵⁵

LKhot. *ysata-gīna*- should therefore be interpreted either as an autonomous formation in Khot., or as a descendant of (or a borrowing from) the same family of NP *zargim/zarqim* (Sogd. *zyrūwēn*, Khot. *ysīra-gū*- display a different, palatalised trend). As for ЕММЕРИК's scruple quoted at the beginning of §3, an appropriate reply could be represented by the words with which ГЕРШНЕВИТШ comments on our semantic field:

46 Cf. SZEMERÉNYI 1980, p. 34.

47 Cf. ГЕРШНЕВИТШ 1974, p. 59: "as soma is called *hari* and the Avestan *haoma* is called *zairi.gaona* (lit. '*zari*-coloured'), and *hari* and *zairi*- are etymologically the same word, the Vedic and the Avestan poets were repeating the colour definition, inherited from their common, Indo-Iranian ancestors, of the prehistoric **sauma* itself [...] the meaning of Av. *zairi.gaona* is incontrovertibly 'green' or 'yellowish green'."

48 But we do not know when: *Zariyūn* (and variants) among the toponyms of Iran (EILERS 1964, p. 230, fn. 147) points to an old presence of NP *zariyūn/zariyūn* 'green' there; the same is for Arab. *zariqa* 'to be blue' (EILERS 1975, p. 590 and fn. 19): *zariyūn* in Psh. *sta-n-zariyūna* 'iris' also points to some antiquity, because all Ir. 'green-red' patterns for the iris (EILERS 1967, p. 141, fn. 82) are remnants of old denominations.

49 Derived from Av. *zariyau-š*: Sogd., NP etc. forms are so explained by ГЕРШНЕВИТШ 1954, p. 25, §164: "the fact that Av. *zariyau-* did not become **zriŋ-*, suggests that it had lost its second *a*."

50 ГНАКИВ 1995, p. 472, nos. 11570, 11571, in ГНАКИВ's transcription *ziri-yōn*, *ziri-yōnē*, but probably [ziryōn] or [zaryōn] in many phases of Sogd.

51 Cf. BAILEY 1979, p. 347, s.v., p. 352, s.v.: the contexts there seem to point to 'gold' better than to 'yellow-coloured' as ЕММЕРИК 1987, p. 39. Cf. also DEGENER 1989, p. 169.

52 LAZARD 1990, p. 218.

53 So translated in ASLANOV 1966, p. 621 (cf. fn. 44 above); 'close to the tears, weep' in MORGENSTIERNE 2003, p. 31, s.v. *yīma*; probably a different etymology.

54 MOIN 1963, I, p. 639, s.v.

55 HÜBSCHMANN's comment on item no. 661 originates from VULLEERS: "NP. *zariyūn* bedeutet auch 2) viridis et amoenus = algh. *zariyūn* 'green, verdant, fresh'" (HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 69; cf. HORN 1893, p. 147; VULLEERS 1864, p. 133, s.v.).

40 BROUGH 1971, pp. 349–353.

41 KARADIA 1953, p. 367.

42 Even about the 'yellowness' of this epithet some doubts could be raised, considering the gloss to its Phl. counterpart: *ku-š čast taranag* 'whose eyes are *taranag*' (= '(the colour of) fresh (shoos)' according to КРЕУЕНБРОЕК 1985, p. 47, and note 7 at p. 87).

43 ДЕНХОД 1960 (1339), pp. 373–374; not in LAZARD 1990; РУВИЦК 1970, I, p. 761, is the only bilingual dictionary making *zariyūn* as 'ust.larevšecj'.

44 For Sogd. cf. ГЕРШНЕВИТШ 1954, p. 170, §§1113–1115 ("yōne. Adjectives meaning 'in the manner of, similar to, like', cf. NPers. *-yūn*, *čīgūne*, HORN 1895–1901, p. 192. Originally *-aka*- bahuvrīhis with OIr. *gaona*- 'colour' [...] from Av. *zairi.gaona(ka-)*"), for Khot. DEGENER 1989, pp. 169–171 ("yīna- stammt aus AIr. **gaima*- 'Farbe, Art', vgl. **gaima*- in Sogd. *-yūwēn* [...] Khot. *ggūina*- [...] bedeutet immer 'Farbe', das Suffix *-yīna*- hingegen enkonkretisiert '*(art)ig*'") and ГЕРШЕНБЕРГ 1981, p. 306, where *ysargūna* 'zoltotoo sveta' and *ysariyūna* 'zoltistyj' are quoted ("Složnye slova v chotanoskškom ne vseгда poddajutsja odnoznačnoj ocenke s točki zrenija togo, vosprimimali'sj li oni kak živye kompozity v period zapisi i perepisyvanija tekstov").

45 Cf. HORN 1895–1901, p. 192, §105: "*-yūn* "*-farbig, -artig*"", cf. on p. 172 the title: "Im NP. noch lebendige Suffixe". PEJSIKOV 1973, pp. 111–114, recalls that in NP (ill XVI c. AD) *gim* is lexically autonomous (also LAZARD 1963, p. 201, §164) and considers NP *-gim* as a *polaffix*, or *slowomortemā* ('o produktivnosti obščej modeli 'imja suščestvitel'noe plus *-gim*' govorit' ne prichoditsja", PEJSIKOV 1973, p. 113). For Psh. cf. ASLANOV 1966, p. 621: "*-yūnai* upotrebljaetsja kak vtoraja čast' slovosloženijsa so značeniem podobija, napr.: ۱۶۵۵ *želtovatyj*", p. 742: "*-gūn* suffix, obrazujuščij imena prilagatel'nye so značeniem podobija, kratosti, napr.: ۱۶۵۳ *dujnoj*"; but no recent description of the language confirms it (cf. ГРИГУНБЕРГ/ЕДИЛ'МАН 1987, pp. 141–153). As far as Oss. is concerned, some descriptions present this formation as productive: cf. ISAEV 1987, p. 639, no. 16 (Iron *-žyn/-gim*, *-gim*); ТАКАЗОВ 2003, p. 719, §167 (Digor *-gom*).

It should be noted that any Middle or New Iranian colour-words of the *zar*-family other than direct descendants of OIran. *zari-gauna*, could not reliably affect the definition of Ved. *hari* by any divergence they might show from greenness or yellowness. This is because only Av. *zairi*-, on account of its being an *i*-stem and an epithet of haoma, is sure to be the exact counterpart of Ved. *hari* which is an *i*-stem and an epithet of soma. Of any other Iranian *zar*- plus vowel, one could not be sure that its exact Vedic counterpart would not have been *hir*- (as it is, e.g., in *hiranya* "gold", corresponding to Av. *zaranya*-). A *hir*- would be under no obligation to have the same meaning as *har*-.

Only the last of the obstacles encountered by EMMERICK remains to be overcome:

the compound is inverted: we might expect rather **yirīnā-gvānā*.

Here EMMERICK's explanation is as follows:

As for the inversion of the compound, it is to be noted that 'inverted bahuvrīhis' are found in Iranian: cf. I. Gershevitch, *TIPS*, 1945, 147. Of the examples quoted there the type represented by Persian *rō-safēd* 'happy' (lit. 'face-white') comes closest to 'colour-yellow'.

In my opinion, EMMERICK proposed an ingenious solution hinting at an analogy with a determinative compound whose first component is a part of the human body, the second a chromatic adjective. While DEGENER has shown some scepticism on 'inverted bahuvrīhi',⁵⁶ I do not see any valid reason to cancel from Khot. a well attested pattern, used to depict emotions attributed to particular gestures, positions, moods and colours:

- Sogd. *br'n βstē* '(a patient) whose breath has stopped'⁵⁷
- Khot. *pāys-vīnā*-'počitel'ny') '(s) licom, obraščennym vniž')⁵⁸
- NP *ru-sefid* 'acquitté, reconnu innocent'⁵⁹
- Psh. *max-toran* 'beschäm't' ('Gesicht-geschwärzt')⁶⁰
- Kurd. *gon-gel* 'muy-ferferi'⁶¹
- Oss. *qwynt'yz* 'vz"erošennyj'.⁶²

What EMMERICK did not consider is that in these compounds the first element is a body part denomination: and since the semantics of the **gauna*-descendants vary from 'colour' to 'complexion' to 'hair',⁶³ it is easy to conclude that our *gvā*-

yirīnā- is a compound depicting a characterisation of the 'complexion'. We are not confronted with a descendant of OIr. **gauna*- 'colour', but of **gauna*- 'complexion': this meaning is missing in Av.⁶⁴, but also Khot. has so far documented only 'colour' and 'hair'.⁶⁵ Moreover, while OP compounds of the pattern *Λογόνυγ*, *Ροδόνυγ*, *Φαταχόνυγ* mostly refer to permanent qualities, those on the pattern *ru-sefid* often refer to temporary moods: this seems particularly true in Psh. while in NP the meaning of the compound seems to depend to a high degree on the semantics of the determinant.⁶⁷

In conclusion, *gvā-yirīnā*- means 'having a *yirīnā*- *gvā*-', 'cf a *yirīnā*-complexion', i.e. 'of green complexion'.⁶⁸

EMMERICK was absolutely right: "none of the difficulties enumerated above is insuperable".

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 64 Previously BENVENISTE 1966, p. 122.
 65 The semantics of Khot. *gīnā*- 'mark, sign' (also 'symptom', BAILEY 1979, p. 86, s.v.) could be conceived anyway as a development from 'complexion'.
 66 For Psh. we have a background survey listing over 25 compounds "Body Part + Determinant", cf. ZYAR 1974, pp. 52–55.
 67 ČAVČAVADZE 1981, pp. 173–185, considers over 150 compounds of the same structure.
 68 "von grünlicher Farbe" DEGENER 1989, p. 170; EMMERICK's reference to 'colour-yellow' on p. 39 is not clear to me.

- 56 DEGENER 1987, pp. 36–38.
 57 Cf. GERSHEVITCH 1945 [1946], p. 147; why not *br'n-βstē*?
 58 GERENBERG 1981, p. 311; cf. BAILEY 1979, pp. 229–230.
 59 LAZARD 1990, p. 210, s.v.
 60 ZYAR 1974, p. 53, no. 219.
 61 HAZHAR 1991, p. 720, s.v.
 62 ABAEV 1970, p. 503, s.v., if *t'yz* is analysed differently from ABAEV 1973, p. 329, s.v. Oss. *qwyntakēd* 'zaplesnevelyj' (ABAEV 1970, p. 503, s.v.) seems connected with Khot. *gīnā* 'wort' (BAILEY 1979, p. 86, s.v.).
 63 SZEMERÉNYI 1980, p. 41, where no compound with initial **gauna*- is mentioned.

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